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many families in his barrio to the new religion. Thus, for the first time in the history of the village there were Catholics and Protestants.

The Protestant families were ostracized and on a number of occasions their homes were stoned. The fact that the Protestants were among the poorer families, and primarily *tlacololeros*, did not add to the prestige of the new cult. In the face of the hostility against them their number dwindled. Today there are less than a dozen families who continue as Seventh Day Adventists. They have managed to adapt themselves by continuing to pay the barrio *limosnas*, supporting local fiestas, and not being too strict about keeping their Sabbath (Saturday) when working for a Catholic employer. Though no longer persecuted they still have very low status in the village. The children of these families have suffered a great deal. They are the butt of bitter comments and jokes in the school and have very few friends in the village. Nevertheless, the leader of the Seventh Day Adventists has again become active in village politics and has been accepted again by his Catholic political colleagues. This has meant a departure from Seventh Day Adventist tenets, in that he has returned to drinking and smoking. Now he says of himself, "I am half-Catholic again."

This experience with Protestantism within their own ranks has made Tepoztecans wary of outsiders who may be identified as Protestants. This was further reinforced by the establishment of the Hatch Demonstration Project under the auspices of the YMCA. The church has waged a sucessful propaganda campaign against the project, denouncing it as a Protestant missionary center working under the guise of a scientific program.

THE FAMILY

Tepoztlán is a family-centered society. The biological family consisting of parents and unmarried children constitutes the basic economic and social unit, and is by far the predominant type. The Tepoztecan family has a strong patriarchal emphasis and patrilocal residence is preferred. Families are strong, cohesive units held together by traditional bonds of loyalty, common economic strivings, mutual dependence, stability of marriage, the prospect of inheritance, and finally, the absence of other social groups to which the individual can turn in time of need. Family unity and stability is further assured by the pattern of child training and the nature of parent-child relationships, which will be discussed later.

Some Tepoztecan families work smoothly with a minimum of tensions. In others there is much conflict and tensions resulting from drunkenness of the husband, adultery of one of the spouses, sibling rivalry, favoritism on the part of the parents, and difficulties with in-laws. Even in these cases, however, the negative or disruptive aspects of family life are generally counterbalanced by the positive ones, and the family remains the strongest and most cohesive unit. Moreover, despite the many social and economic changes of recent years and the rather sharp differences between generations, we find little decline in parental authority and little evidence of family disorganization.

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Independence, self-reliance, and a strong sense of privacy are among the cherished values of Tepoztecan family life. Relations with the extended family are limited: there is a reticence in borrowing and calling upon others for help and, by the same token, reticence in giving help. Yet, in times of emergency a Tepoztecan turns most often to relatives, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, godparents, and *compadres*. Favors are carefully remembered and usually returned. There are no formal councils of the extended family, but relatives are generally well informed about one another and there is much gossip and unsolicited advice. Visiting among relatives is infrequent and for the most part is limited to special occasions, such as the annual barrio fiesta, illness, births, weddings, and deaths.

THE FAMILY AND THE HOUSE SITE

There are 662 occupied house sites in the village. Most sites contain a single house but some have two, three, and four. The number of persons per house site ranges from 1 (45 cases) to 17 (1 case). The distribution of persons per house site is shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10. Distribution of Persons per House Site.

No. of Persons	No. of House Sites
1	45
2	82
3	76
4	76
5	68
6	80
7	78
8	60
9	55
10	20
11	10
12	7
13	2
14	1
15	1
16	0
17	1
Total	662

Smaller households predominate over larger ones, reflecting the fact that most households consist of the biological family. The large number of house sites occupied by a single individual is very striking for this peasant community. It reflects the weakness of the extended family and reminds us of conditions in the urban centers.

An analysis of the kinship composition of each of the house sites is shown in Table 11.

It can be seen from Table 11 that over seventy per cent of all house sites are occupied by the biological family. When a niece or nephew lives with the family, it is almost always because the child was orphaned or abandoned. Such a child

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family life. Traditionally, the married son continues to live with his father until the next son marries, after which the older son may set up his own house or at least establish his own kitchen. However, the present tendency in the village is for the young couple to become independent as soon as possible, often after one or two years. In fact, many of the younger generation would prefer to set up their own house immediately after marriage and those who have the wherewithal do so. The majority of the cases under Type II and all in Types III and IV are multiple families each with their separate kitchens and separate budgets.

Although residence is preferably patrilocal, there are twenty-six cases of married daughters living with the parents. About one-third of these cases include the daughters' husbands, the others are either widows, abandoned wives, or women who have separated from their husbands. There are only eight families in which more than one married son and daughter continue to live with their parents, again indicating the few cases of large extended families living together. Cases of married siblings living with their families are also few.

Because of the absence of the custom of renting houses, it is unusual to find unrelated families living on the same house site. The five cases indicated in Table 11 were those in which an unused house on a house site was loaned to a family or a newly wed couple without a home.

Under "Miscellaneous Composition" we have included those cases which did not fall under our classifications. A variety of types are covered by this category. For example, cases of an old widowed brother and sister; a widow and son plus the family of her deceased husband's nephew; parents with the first and second wives of their dead son and his children, with a widowed daughter, and with a daughter separated from her husband.

THE FAMILY AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

In Tepoztlán, as in most peasant societies, the family is the basic cooperative unit of production, and each member is expected to contribute to its support and welfare. The biological family seeks to be independent and self-sufficient. There are no institutionalized day-to-day cooperative endeavors between families, and normally little aid is given or received. Nevertheless, some mutual assistance between families exists in the form of borrowing and labor exchange. For example, a man who owns a small parcel of land but no plow-oxen may arrange to work as a *peón* for an uncle, brother, *compadre*, or neighbor, in exchange for the plowing of his own land. But there is a minimum of such cooperation, for Tepoztecans are essentially individualists.

Most work, whether it be agriculture, trade, or some special occupation, is carried on individually rather than cooperatively. Even within the family the division of labor is such that each individual does a separate task instead of working together on the same task. For example, the mother may do all the marketing, one daughter may wash all the clothes, another daughter may grind all the corn. Although such a division of labor may seem quite natural, it contrasts with that

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of a more cooperative society like the Zuni Indians where, for example, three women of a single household grind corn in unison.

Much of the men's work is also done on an individual basis. It is common to see men working alone in the fields and returning alone in the evening. Similarly, a man will go alone to cut wood, burn charcoal, or transport goods to distant villages. The care of cattle by young men and boys is also frequently done by a single individual, although brothers or cousins sometimes go together. On cattle buying trips to Guerrero, two or three men will go together for mutual protection but each carries on his own business.

On a number of occasions during the year the entire family may work together on a single project. This occurs sometimes during the corn harvest, but more frequently in picking plums during September and October. The shelling of large quantities of corn for sale also may be done by the whole family. This occurs more often in the smaller outlying barrios where the women are less reluctant to do men's work. Finally, the barrio fiesta generally requires a great deal of cooperative endeavor within the family.

The daily division of labor within the household reveals how the family functions as an economic unit. We present in Chart 1 a synchronic record of the activities of each member of a family which we observed for this purpose over a period of four days. This family is a member of the upper economic group and owns several plots of land and some cattle. The parents are in their early fifties and the age of the three daughters ranges from thirteen to twenty-four. Another daughter and a son are away at boarding schools and contribute little to the family in the form of labor. The record was made from March 28 to March 31, 1944, during the dry season when the father had little work in the fields. In addition, the father was slightly ill with chills and fever during part of the recorded period. This was not a disadvantage since it served to keep him at home where his activities could be more readily observed. The picking of *guajes* (acacia pods) fortunately began during this period and gave us an opportunity to record in detail how that work is carried on.

The following record, though covering only four days, shows in detail how the general work patterns operate during this season of the year. The father is at home and does many chores normally done by his wife. His illness does not prevent him from working; in Tepoztlán a man remains in bed only when seriously ill. However, he rests a good deal and reads, which is something the father in our observed family rarely does.

The mother is generally the first to rise and make the fire. She serves the meals, "cures" her husband, visits her mother, and is the only one of the women in the family to take an afternoon nap with more or less regularity. The item "Visits woman," which appears among her activities on Thursday, was listed because she had learned that this woman would visit the boarding school where the absent daughter was studying, and the mother wished to send her daughter a package by this woman.

[text continues on p. 72]

CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family.

Time (March 28)	Father	Mother	Eldest Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
A.M.					
6:00– 6:30	In bed	Rises, makes fire and coffee	In bed	In bed	In bed
6:30– 7:00	Rises, feeds cattle, takes them to pasture	Goes to buy bread, sweeps patio	Rises, sweeps kitchen, prepares utensils	Rises, goes for milk	" "
7:00– 7:30	Drinks coffee	Serves husband and self coffee	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Drinks coffee, cuts and stores dried fish	Rises, washes, combs hair
7:30– 8:00	Hauls water, shells corn for mules	Resumes sweeping patio	" "	Smooths and folds laundered clothes	Breakfasts
8:00– 8:30	Breakfasts	Combs hair, breakfasts, serves others	" "	Breakfasts	Goes to school
8:30– 9:00	Talks with investigator	Cuts squash for animals, cooks squash, shells corn	" "	Makes beds	At school
9:00– 9:30	Goes to bed	Arranges squash in market basket	Breakfasts	Sweeps porch	" "
9:30–10:00	In bed	" "	Washes dishes	Washes arms and feet, combs hair	" "
10:00–10:30	" "	Goes to market to sell corn and squash	Prepares corn for grinding	Accompanies mother to market to make purchases	" "
10:30–11:00	" "	At market	Prepares and cooks stew	At market	" "
11:00–11:30	" "	" "	"	" "	" "
11:30–12:00	"	" "	" "	Returns home, polishes nails	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time P.M.	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
12:00–12:30	Feeds mules	At market	Grinds corn	Talks with recorder	Returns home
12:30– 1:00	Rests	" "	Makes tortillas	Feeds chickens	Does nothing
1:00– 1:30	"	Returns home, prepares lunch	" "	Helps making tortillas	" "
1:30– 2:00	Eats and talks with recorder	Serves and eats	" "	Eats	Eats
2:00– 2:30	" "	" "	Eats	"	Goes to school
2:30– 3:00	Reads prayers	" "	"	Sews	At school
3:00– 3:30	Goes to bed	Hauls water for animals	Washes dishes	"	" "
3:30– 4:00	In bed	In bed	" "	"	" "
4:00– 4:30	" "	Cleans dried gourds	Shells corn, prepares dough	"	" "
4:30– 5:00	Reads prayers	" "	" "	"	" "
5:00– 5:30	In bed	" "	Mends her clothes	"	Returns home
5:30– 6:00	" "	Feeds turkeys	" "	"	Reads
6:00– 6:30	" "	Cuts squash for animals	Knits	"	Talks to friends
6:30– 7:00	" "	Mends blouse	"	"	" "
7:00– 7:30	" "	Goes to visit mother	Grinds corn	Goes for bread	Knits

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
P.M.					
7:30– 8:00	In bed	Sits in kitchen, talks with girls	Makes tortillas	Prepares coffee	Knits
8:00– 8:30	Gets up to drink coffee	Serves coffee to family and self	Eats	Eats	Eats
8:30– 9:00	Goes to bed, takes medicine and foot bath	Prepares medicinal drink and foot bath for husband	Washes dishes	Knits	Knits
9:00– 9:30	In bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	"	"
9:30	" "	In bed	In bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed
(March 29)					
A.M.					
6:00– 6:30	Rises, feeds cattle	Rises, puts up coffee	Rises, makes fire, sweeps kitchen	In bed	In bed
6:30– 7:00	Drinks coffee	Hauls water, goes for bread	Grinds corn	Rises, goes for milk	" "
7:00– 7:30	Hauls water	Has coffee and bread	" "	Waters plants, has coffee and bread	Rises, washes
7:30– 8:00	Takes cattle to pasture	Goes to wash clothes at *lavadero*	Makes tortillas	Sweeps, makes beds	Eats
8:00– 8:30	Breakfasts and talks with family	Washes clothes	" "	Goes to pick flowers	Goes to school
8:30– 9:00	Feeds animals	" "	Breakfasts	" "	At school
9:00– 9:10	Looks for carpenter's tools	" "	Prepares beans	" "	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
A.M.					
9:30–10:00	Cuts wood for making chairs	Looks over trees in patio, plans to plant more	Washes dishes	Goes to pick flowers	At school
10:00–10:30	" "	" "	Smooths dirt floor and fills in holes with earth	Washes, combs hair	" "
10:30–11:00	" "	Hauls water for plants	" "	Sews	" "
11:00–11:30	" "	Feeds chickens	" "	"	" "
11:30–12:00	Goes to bed	Washes, combs hair	Grinds corn and makes tortillas	"	" "
P.M.					
12:00–12:30	Continues work on chairs	Prepares lunch	" "	"	Returns home
12:30– 1:00	" "	" "	" "	"	Sits in kitchen
1:00– 1:30	" "	" "	" "	"	" "
1:30– 2:00	Eats	Serves and eats	Grinds corn and makes tortillas	Eats	Eats
2:00– 2:30	Rests	Shells corn	Eats	Sews	Goes to school
2:30– 3:00	Works on chairs	" "	Washes dishes	Goes to doctor for cure	At school
3:00– 3:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
3:30– 4:00	" "	Goes to plaza to buy volcano	Knits	" "	" "
4:00– 4:30	" "	" "	"	" "	" "

CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
P.M.					
4:30– 5:00	Works on chairs	Goes to plaza to buy *rebozo*	Knits	Goes to doctor for cure	At school
5:00– 5:30	" "	Returns, goes for bread	"	Returns, cuts out dress	Returns home
5:30– 6:00	" "	Visits mother	"	" "	Visits friend
6:00– 6:30	" "	Shells corn	Takes image of Virgin to friend's house	Accompanies eldest daughter	" "
6:30– 7:00	Completes one chair	" "	" "	" "	" "
7:00– 7:30	Cleans up, puts away tools	Prepares supper	" "	" "	" "
7:30– 8:00	Rests	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Knits	" "
8:00– 8:30	Eats	Serves and eats	" "	Eats	Eats
8:30– 9:00	Goes to bed	Talks in kitchen	Eats	Talks in kitchen	Talks in kitchen
9:00– 9:30	In bed	Mends skirt	Washes dishes	Goes to bed	Goes to bed
9:30	" "	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	In bed	In bed
(March 30)					
A.M.					
5:30– 6:00	Rises, feeds cattle	Rises, makes fire and coffee, sweeps patio	In bed	Rises, sweeps corridor	" "
6:00– 6:30	Drinks coffee, hauls water	Takes cattle to pasture	Rises, works in kitchen	Goes for milk	" "
6:30– 7:00	Hauls water	Takes cattle to pasture, shells beans	Makes tortillas, grinds corn	Makes beds	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
A.M. 7:00– 7:30	Hauls water	Takes cattle to pasture, shells beans	Makes tortillas, grinds corn	Breakfasts	Rises, washes, combs hair
7:30– 8:00	Breakfasts	Breakfasts	" "	Feeds chickens, treats one	Breakfasts
8:00– 8:30	Hauls more water	Shells corn for mules	Breakfasts, washes dishes	Goes to buy beans for Lent	Goes to school
8:30– 9:00	Looks for tools to pick *guajes*	Helps look for tools	" "	Cleans beans	At school
9:00– 9:30	Makes new handles for ax and hoe	Waters plants	Cleans kitchen	Washes feet, combs hair	" "
9:30–10:00	" "	Prepares stew	Washes feet, combs hair	Changes dress	" "
10:00–10:30	" "	Picks over plants, shells corn, takes it to market to sell, washes clothes on way, prepares lunch	Goes to church	Goes to church with sister	" "
10:30–11:00	" "		" "	" "	" "
11:00–11:30	" "		" "	" "	" "
11:30–12:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
P.M. 12:00–12:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	Returns home
12:30– 1:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	At home
1:00– 1:30	" "	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Helps prepare meal	" "
1:30– 2:00	Eats	Serves and eats	" "	Eats	Eats
2:00– 2:30	Continues work with tools	Combs hair	" "	Cuts out blouse	Goes to school

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
P.M.					
2:30– 3:00	Continues work with tools	Visits mother	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Cuts out blouse	At School
3:00– 3:30	" "	" "	Eats	Goes to bed	" "
3:30– 4:00	" "	Goes to bed	Washes dishes	Sews	" "
4:00– 4:30	" "	In bed	" "	"	" "
4:30– 5:00	" "	Selects leaves for tamales	Knits	"	" "
5:00– 5:30	Goes to bed	Visits woman	"	Goes to church for Rosario	Returns home
5:30– 6:00	Continues work	" "	"	" "	At home
6:00– 6:30	" "	" "	"	" "	" "
6:30– 7:00	Picks *guajes*	" "	Goes to get image of Virgin	Sews	" "
7:00– 7:30	" "	Gathers *guajes*	Grinds corn	Lights candles	" "
7:30– 8:00	Eats	Serves and eats	Lies down with headache	Eats	Eats
8:00– 8:30	Talks with family	Talks, washes dishes	In bed	Talks with family	Talks with family
8:30– 9:00	Goes to bed	" "	" "	" "	" "
9:00– 9:30	In bed	Goes to bed	" "	Goes to bed	Goes to bed
(March 31)					
A.M.					
5:00– 5:30	Rises, feeds cattle	Rises, picks *guajes*	" "	In bed	In bed

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
A.M. 5:30– 6:00	Picks *guajes*	Picks *guajes*	Rises, sweeps	In bed	In bed
6:00– 6:30	" "	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Rises, goes for milk	Rises
6:30– 7:00	" "	" "	" "	Picks *guajes*	Combs hair, washes
7:00– 7:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	
7:30– 8:00	" "	" "	" "	Breakfasts	Breakfasts
8:00– 8:30	Breakfasts	Breakfasts	Breakfasts	Picks *guajes*	Goes to school
8:30– 9:00	Picks *guajes*	Picks *guajes*	Washes dishes	Makes beds, sweeps	At school
9:00– 9:30	" "	" "	Bathes feet	Sews	" "
9:30–10:00	" "	" "	Goes to church	"	" "
10:00–10:30	" "	" "	" "	"	" "
10:30–11:00	" "	" "	" "	Shells corn	" "
11:00–11:30	Feeds cattle	" "	" "	Sews	" "
11:30–12:00	Picks *guajes*	" "	" "	"	" "
P.M. 12:00–12:30	" "	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	"	" "
12:30– 1:00	" "	" "	" "	"	" "
1:00– 1:30	" "	Prepares lunch	" "	"	Returns home

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family.

Time P.M.	Father	Mother	Eldest Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
1:30– 2:00	Eats lunch	Serves and eats	Eats	Eats	Eats
2:00– 2:30	Picks *guajes*	Sorts *guajes*	Washes dishes	Goes to cousin's house to bathe	Does school work
2:30– 3:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	Goes to school
3:00– 3:30	Waters cattle	" "	Shells corn	Picks *guajes*	At school
3:30– 4:00	Picks *guajes*	" "	" "	" "	" "
4:00– 4:30	" "	" "	Irons clothes	" "	" "
4:30– 5:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
5:00– 5:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
5:30– 6:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	Returns home
6:00– 6:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	At home
6:30– 7:00	Sorts *guajes*	" "	" "	Fixes dress	" "
7:00– 7:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
7:30– 8:00	Eats	Irons clothes	Makes tortillas	Lights candles	" "
8:00– 8:30	Talks with wife	Eats	Eats	Eats	Eats
8:30– 9:00	Goes to bed	Talks with daughters	Washes dishes	Talks with mother and sisters	Talks with mother and sisters
9:00– 9:30	In bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed

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The eldest daughter is also an early riser. She does not pick *guajes* with the others, but instead takes over her mother's task of ironing. Her daily routine changes little throughout the year and is broken only by knitting or going to church. She frequently lies down in the afternoon because of a headache.

The second daughter does a variety of work, much of which is pleasurable, like going to the plaza or picking flowers. She spends much more time on her personal appearance than does her elder sister.

The youngest daughter always rises last and leaves for school without doing chores as other girls of her age commonly do. Her day is principally devoted to school and varies little during the school year.

The record also reveals some interesting details concerning the division of labor among the women. Limiting ourselves to a discussion of the mother and the two older daughters, we find that their activities fall under the following categories: housework, farm work, marketing, sewing and knitting, and church attendance. Table 12 summarizes the number of hours spent by the women of this family on each of these activities during the four days we observed them.

TABLE 12. Hours Spent by Women of Tepoztecan Family at Various Activities During Four-Day Period.

Type of Activity	Hours		
	Mother	Eldest Daughter	Second Daughter
Housework	15	39	9
Farm work	21½	—	8
Trading or selling	8½	—	—
Marketing	3	—	4½
Sewing and knitting	—	5	18
Church attendance	—	7	5½

Of sixty-three hours of housework, forty-eight were done by the daughters, and thirty-nine of these forty-eight hours were done by the eldest daughter alone. She spent approximately five hours each day kneeling at the *metate* or over the *comal*, grinding corn and making tortillas, since this family lives too far from the mill to carry the corn there daily. The second daughter spent on the average of four and one-half hours a day at the sewing machine. This work varies considerably during the year, however, depending upon the fiesta cycle.

The mother's emphasis on farm work is clear, though this also varies with the time of the year. She devotes more time to trading than this four-day record indicates, since she frequently spends one or two full days a week at the Cuernavaca market, where she gets a slightly higher price for her corn and where she can make certain purchases at a lower price. It is interesting to note that although the youngest daughter goes to the plaza twice a day to school, she is rarely asked to do the marketing because the mother and second daughter enjoy this activity and prefer to do it themselves. The mother goes to the plaza once or twice a day and the second

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daughter four or five times a week. In the four-day period seven and one-half hours were consumed in marketing trips.

The daughters spend more time than the mother in sewing and knitting and going to church. These tend to be regarded as leisure activities, and the mother does not indulge in them except when necessary because she "doesn't want to lose time." However, she devotes more time to going to church and to other religious activities than this record indicates. Both sisters, but particularly the eldest, have the reputation of being devout and spend much time going to church. Almost the only occasion for the older girl to leave the house is because of some religious activity.

In the daily routine the women of the household have many more opportunities of working together than does the family as a whole. They may work together in the kitchen, accompany one another to the plaza as chaperones, and exchange instruction in sewing and knitting. Cooperation is at its highest in preparing fiesta meals, particularly the annual barrio fiesta.

The division of labor varies from family to family and depends chiefly upon the number of sons to the number of daughters; the number of grown children to the number of small children; the amount of land, livestock, fruit trees, and other property the family owns; and the ambition and enterprise of the parents.

MARRIAGE

There are three types of marriage in Tepoztlán, namely, *por lo civil* (civil marriage), *por la iglesia* (church marriage), and *uniones libres* (free unions). According to the Mexican Census of 1940 ten per cent of all married couples in Tepoztlán were married by civil law alone, twenty-five per cent by church alone, and fifty per cent by both civil law and church; and fifteen per cent had entered into free unions. To understand the distribution of these types of marriage it must be remembered that since 1928 civil marriage has been obligatory by law. Before that time most people in Tepoztlán married only by church, or lived in free union. Church marriage still carries the greatest prestige and, as in most of Mexico, is considered the only true form of marriage by the majority—but especially by the older folk. Civil marriage is viewed as a preliminary to church marriage; the priest is not supposed to marry anyone who does not have a legal marriage certificate. But marriage by civil law alone is increasing. A study of all Tepoztecan marriages recorded in Tepoztlán between 1941 and 1946 showed that a little over twenty per cent were civil marriages not followed by church marriages. The reasons for this trend will be discussed later.

The relatively low status of civil marriage is reflected in the types of people who marry only *por lo civil:* (1) orphaned girls with no family to press for a church marriage; (2) girls who become pregnant before marriage; (3) women who have had one or more children out of wedlock; (4) second marriages; (5) elopements; (6) poor boys who cannot afford a church wedding. In these cases there is an absence of elaborate preparation for the marriage. The couple generally appear

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183 562 593 to admire a man who is manly, they describe the "good" husband as one who is relatively passive and not too domineering. But they are as critical as men are of wives who answer back or resist their husbands, even though they do it themselves. Also, while women unanimously prefer a submissive daughter-in-law for themselves, they do not always advise their own daughters to yield to mothers-in-law. There is also a definite tendency to regard the completely submissive wife more as a fool than as an ideal. The fact that there is no feeling of inadequacy among women for not achieving the ideal of feminine behavior, and the fact that they feel pride rather than guilt in self-assertion, indicates that they no longer hold the cultural ideal as their own.

Women are, then, more in conflict with traditional ways than are men. Husbands generally find themselves in a defensive position in which they must conserve the old order of things in the home, to maintain their control over the family. Men show symptoms of anxiety and feelings of inadequacy because of their inability to fulfill their roles to their own satisfaction. Wives tend to reject certain aspects of their role, particularly those which interfere with their freedom of movement and economic activities. The strong preference women display toward work which takes them outside the home, and their feeling of deprivation when they cannot leave the home, are evidence of this. Perhaps related to this is the fact that pregnancy and bearing of children are viewed without enthusiasm by women. These attitudes of women are in sharp contrast to those of men. The reaction of women to the pressure to conform, is one of a sense of frustration and deprivation. The martyr-complex is widespread among married women, and in telling their life stories, women are often so overwhelmed by self-pity that they break down and cry. They dwell on the sadness of their lives and the faults of their husbands. It is, they say, a woman's unhappy lot to suffer at the hands of men. The hostility toward men is quite general, and women readily characterize all men as "very bad."

[842] [157] [578]

183 594 [178] The question of authority in husband-wife relations is very much in the minds of men and women in Tepoztlán. There is an awareness, on the part of both, of the growing assertiveness of wives and the continual struggle of husbands to keep them under control. The changes within the village in the past twenty years or so have made this struggle more acute and have brought it into the open. There is a saying among men, "When the man relaxes, the woman takes over." Similarly, women say, "When we give in, the men impose." Even the most conventional women believe that there is a time to yield and a time to resist.

Basic to the conflict in the relations of husbands and wives is the discrepancy between the actual roles and the ideal roles in the organization of the family. Although the wife is subordinate to the husband, it is she who has the greatest responsibility for the planning, organizing, and operation of the household, and for the training and care of the children. The husband traditionally turns over all his earnings to his wife, and she holds the funds and controls much of the spending. In most homes, the husband will not interfere with the wife's handling of the money, so long as she gives him money when he wants it. The good wife is not

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supposed to refuse her husband's request for money and may receive a beating or scolding if she does. A wife will refuse her husband money when she suspects that it is for drink or for another woman.

Wives are in a position to do a great deal of secret spending, borrowing, and paying back, which gives them a considerable source of added independence. Wives are also free to sell small quantities of the family corn or their own chickens or eggs, and to use the cash whenever they see fit. Although wives are supposed to get the permission of their husbands before going to see a doctor or *curandero*, visiting, or buying and selling in quantity, the frequent absence of the husband from the house permits the wife to do many of these things without his knowledge.

A few men, in an effort to control family affairs, keep their earnings and dole out small daily sums to their wives. Such men are considered very undesirable as husbands. They are called *cuilchilete*, or men with very long penes, and are said to be miserly. Even in those cases where the husband holds the funds, the wife always has an immediate source of cash from selling corn. Some husbands attempt to secure independence by withholding part of their earnings. This leads to quarrels, however, because wives generally know the exact amount of a husband's earnings, and they feel justified in demanding all the money. The fact that the husband often spends the money on drink puts him at a further disadvantage; the wife may then accuse him of wasting it, of not caring whether his family eats, etc. Wives in such situations may complain to the mother-in-law, or in extreme cases to the priest or *padrino* of marriage, who will invariably advise the husband to relinquish all his earnings.

In contrast to the wife's central role within the home, the husband's actual participation in family and household affairs is minimal. His work, with the exception of hauling water and making occasional repairs in and around the house, is outside the home. The division of labor is clear-cut, and the husband, except in emergencies, never does anything in connection with the house or children. For the majority of men, the home is a place where they have their physical needs attended to. Men are away from home a good part of the day, and sometimes for several days at a time, depending upon their work and the season of the year.

The history of Tepoztlán has been such that men frequently were forced to leave the village for long periods, and it is interesting to speculate on the effect of this on family life. We know that many Tepoztecans had to work in the mines of distant Taxco and on faraway haciendas during the early sixteenth century. This pattern continued in modified form throughout the colonial period and until the Revolution. Before the Revolution, large numbers of men worked on the neighboring haciendas and returned to the village only once every two weeks. Even today, about 150 men work on the haciendas during four to six months of the dry season, returning home once a week. With the husband away, the wife was not only head of the family but also often had to find means of supporting herself and the children until his return.

Perhaps more important than a husband's absence from the home is his behavior

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More and more women are undertaking to contribute to the support of their families, even when the husband is a relatively good provider. Women traditionally raise a few chickens and pigs, and some now grow fruit trees, to earn money. Men recognize this type of activity as necessary. Some poor men blame their inability to get ahead on the fact that their wives are inept at earning or saving money, or that their wives refuse to raise chickens and pigs because they dirty up the patio and are too much trouble. One attitude, sometimes expressed among married women, is, "Why should I work? That is what I have a husband and sons for." However, many wives try to earn enough so as not to depend upon their husbands entirely for food and clothing, because "the men are too miserly to spend much on these things." The more capable women are able to earn enough to aid their husbands substantially. Without exception, every man who has been able to improve his economic situation since the Revolution has done so with the help of his wife, and in all the more prosperous homes the wives are known to be unusually capable and industrious.

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Several fairly recent social and economic changes which have occurred in the village have affected the roles of women. Women have been more affected than men by such technological changes as the building of the road, the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, and the introduction of the corn mills. These changes have also affected the relations between husbands and wives. Women began to patronize the corn mills over the objections of their husbands, and the success of the mills was described by a male informant as the result of "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men." The corn mills have given women from four to six additional hours a day to devote to other activities. Since women are not so tied to the *metate* now, they are able to leave the house more freely and can undertake more extensive business activities.

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An increasing number of more ambitious married women are now raising animals or growing fruit on a larger scale or are devoting more time to selling the family produce at the Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca markets. However, husbands tend to balk at the latter activity and do not easily give their wives permission to go to Cuernavaca, despite the fact that the extra earnings would be welcome. This type of work has, in the past, been carried on exclusively by widows or older unmarried women who "had no man to control them." Many of these women are known for their promiscuity, and they and their occupation have little status. In addition, men tend to associate going to Cuernavaca with going to meet a lover and do not permit their wives to go alone. Husbands also fear that people will say they can no longer support or control their wives if they go out to work. The fear of giving the wife more freedom, as well as the recognition of the threat to the man in his role as provider, outweighs the obvious economic advantages, and most men prevent their wives from earning as much as they might.

[439] [484] [589] [554] [439] [837]

Another factor which has affected husband-wife relations is the increased independence of young couples, who now seek to set up separate households soon after marriage. In the past, when wives often lived for many years with their mothers-in-

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178 law and were subject to their authority, the husband had relatively little difficulty
594 in controlling his wife. But the young wife now assumes earlier the full burden of
[591] running the household and requires a certain freedom and authority which has not been traditionally hers. Men, however, are still unprepared to permit their wives the freedom to carry out these new responsibilities and interpret many of their demands and activities as threats to the husband's authority.

562 The quality of husband-wife relations is perhaps most clearly revealed by the
593 latent fear that husbands have of being bewitched or poisoned by their wives.
754 Tepoztecan men believe that wives who have suffered beatings and harsh treatment may take revenge by resorting to sorcery. The most commonly feared sorcery is a potion made from an herb called *toloache*, which may be secretly put into a man's coffee or other drink.[1] This herb is supposed to make a man *tonto*, stupid or foolish and easily led. An overdose of *toloache* will make a man an idiot. The most important symptom to Tepoztecans is that the drugged man can no longer control his wife and becomes dominated by her. When a woman is known to dominate her husband and to have many lovers, she is suspected of having given her husband *toloache*. According to Tepoztecans, the man is unaware of his condition and can do nothing about it. His mother or some other close relative may attempt to cure him secretly by putting a counter-potion into his coffee. It is interesting to note that there is not a single case of *toloache* being given by men to women.

There is a readiness to explain all mildness and passivity in men, in relation to their wives, as a result of the man's having been drugged by *toloache* or bewitched by other means. For example, a man in the village continued to give his wife a regular sum of money, although she had left him and they had no children. His unprecedented solicitude was believed to have been the result of magic applied by the wife. There are about fifty recognized cases of *toloache* poisoning or bewitching in the village. The following cases were described by one of our male informants:

MAXIMO C.: He was a bachelor until age forty, at which time he married a widow, age fifty. Before his marriage he was a strong man, but after a while he became weak, thin, humble, and always kept his head down. That is why we believe she gave him something. She is the mother, the queen. She is all and he is her servant. She had had many men and had always lived with bachelors. She lured him and married him. Her first husband was a fool. He was a *capitán* for the hacienda and was away a lot. He came here every eight days and often found another man in the house. He permitted this. She had many men, and they all died. She gave some potion to all of these men to make them live with her. She died last year.

ANTONIO F.: He eloped with his first wife. He beat her often because she ran around. After twenty years of marriage, she gave him the stuff and he began to show the symptoms.

RICARDO V.: He was the boss in his home for about five years. Then she began to sleep with just anybody, and he began to show all the symptoms.

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[1] *Toloache* is a well-known plant in Mexico and is said to contain a drug which, when given in large doses, will affect the brain.

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593 602 Attachment to people on the part of children often depends upon or results from the receiving of some material good. They will seek out or be loyal to whichever parent or relative gives them what they want when they want it. It is common for children to say, "I like him because he gives me good things." The psychological [124] tests and themes written by children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades contain evidence of this. One boy wrote that he was very sad when his uncle died, because his uncle used to give him pennies. Another girl said, "I like my aunt best because she takes me to fiestas." Similarly, a mother, in discussing her children's attitudes toward their grandmother said, "Naturally, Delfina liked her grandmother more than the other children do, because her grandmother gave her more."

593 868 The father assumes an important role in the life of his son when the boy is old enough to go to the fields. Most boys enjoy working in the fields with their father and look forward with great anticipation to being permitted to join him. Fathers, too, are proud to take their young sons to the fields for the first time, and frequently show great patience in teaching them. But even when father and sons go to the fields together day after day, there is no lessening of the respect relations. The father maintains the role of teacher, and when he speaks it is to teach or advise his [521] son. Boys generally do not speak much in the presence of their fathers. Talk about intimate subjects, telling jokes, or discussing women is strictly taboo, generally even after the sons are married.

593 866 594 Regardless of age or marital state, a son is under his father's authority as long as he lives and works with his father. The son receives no recompense other than his support and care and what spending money he can get from his mother or father. Some fathers are generous and permissive in their treatment of grown sons who do a man's work; others are not and continue to treat them as children. Comparatively few unmarried sons leave home to seek work elsewhere. Even boys who are very dissatisfied with their situation at home are reluctant to strike out for themselves. Among youths there is a certain apprehensiveness of the outside, a fear of falling ill among strangers, of having to do menial and laborious work, of not having the backing of a family in case of trouble, and of not being properly respected by others. The economic dependency of sons upon their parents, as well as a desire for a share of the inheritance, prevents most sons from leaving home. The dependence is mutual; fathers are eager to have their sons remain at home to help support the family, and temper their behavior accordingly. In most homes, grown sons who work enjoy the same service and care received by their father.

593 Although there is some feeling that a father should be a good example for his sons, there is no emphasis upon this. The father feels entitled to his son's respect regardless of his behavior. In this sense, the role of the Tepoztecan father is quite different from that of the father in the German family, for example. The German father generally seeks respect based upon awe and admiration; the Tepoztecan father is content with respect based upon fear and prerogative. Thus, in Tepoztlán, [273] although most fathers forbid their sons to drink, this does not prevent the father from drinking in the presence of his sons. When a father gets drunk, it is the

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mother proudly displayed a pillowcase she had embroidered with the words, "Sleep, my love" for her eighteen-year-old son. But mothers experience some difficulty in controlling the eldest son, who frequently imitates his father in demanding much service from the women in the family and in ordering his younger siblings about. The oldest son is expected to take the place of the father upon the latter's death, and to support his widowed mother and orphaned brothers and sisters. When this occurs, there is sometimes an extended struggle between the mother and the son for authority as head of the family. Widows who inherited their husband's property are in a better position to maintain authority and are usually careful to hold on to the property until death, for fear of losing all control of their sons. Propertyless widows, whose sons work as peons to support the family, usually permit the sons to rule over their brothers and sisters and over their mothers as well. Quarrels between mothers and sons arising out of the question of authority and inheritance are not infrequent; many mothers voice apprehension as to the treatment they may expect from their sons in their old age. There are several instances in which married sons do nothing to help support an old widowed mother or even mistreat her. On the other hand, there are several cases in the village in which an adult son, married or unmarried, continues to live with the mother and to work for her, sometimes well into his thirties, before receiving a share of his inheritance.

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Many widows do not remarry because "the children get angry." Grown children tend to resent sharing the mother with a stranger and fear that they will be displaced. Eldest sons are known to be especially angered or "jealous," because they will no longer be the male head of the family. One widow said her eighteen year-old son threatened to beat her if she remarried. Some women express a sense of shame in taking another husband after their children are grown. The presence of grown children also act as a deterrent to widows having lovers.

593 [589] [587]

The relations of mothers and daughters are usually very close. Not only does the mother teach the girl the household skills she knows, but they work side by side in the home until the daughter's marriage. The daughter gradually assumes the mother's role in the home and generally identifies with her. The mother's attitude toward her work, toward bearing children, and toward men and marriage becomes the girl's attitude. In homes in which the mother is dissatisfied or unhappy with her husband, the daughters are apt to take a negative attitude toward men and marriage.

[868] [867]

With few exceptions, mothers press their daughters into service as early as possible and use them for all types of errands and chores; indeed, the way in which Tepoztecan households function makes it almost impossible for the mother to get along without help. The custom of having daughters work in the home is deeply ingrained in Tepoztlán, although less so than in the smaller surrounding villages. Many mothers resent the fact that the school takes away the girls for the major part of the day. Mothers frequently absent their daughters from school or withdraw them permanently as soon as the husband permits. Girls under the age of thirteen usually prefer to be in school and may resist the mother's attempt to keep them

573 857 [594] [872]

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593 857 [872] 594 [581] home. However, the majority of girls leave school after the third grade, or at eleven years of age. An occasional mother identifies with the daughter and expresses her own ambitions for schooling by allowing the girl to complete the elementary school course.

When a girl is at home, she is at the complete disposal of her mother. The mother is in a position to exploit the daughter and frequently does, especially the eldest daughter. Many girls marry to escape the hard work at home, and some of our case histories reveal the resentment daughters sometimes hold in retrospect toward their mothers. The following was told by a woman forty years of age:

> My mother was a widow. When I was nine we went to Tacubaya because it was the time of the Revolution. My mother borrowed three pesos and made *atole* and *tacos* and sold them. She did well the first year. Then she made meals for 190 factory workers. I made tortillas when I wasn't going to school. I went to school for four years and each morning I got up at 5:00 A.M. and ground corn, and made coffee for my mother, brothers, and sister. I never ate breakfast before school for lack of time. I also made the tortillas for the family for lunch and supper. My mother hired three women and a boy to help her at her work, and she made a lot of money. After four years she took us back to Tepoztlán because she didn't want us to grow up perverse. Then my three older brothers became teamsters and left the house at 4:00 or 5:00 A.M. every day. I had to get up at 1:00 A.M. to grind and make tortillas and *tacos* for them. After they left, I swept the patio and garden and fed the pigs and chickens. Then I made tortillas for my mother, grandmother, and sister. After breakfast I had to grind corn for the two or three pigs we always had and then again for the evening meal. I cut and sewed the clothes, washed and ironed, and did all the work of the house when I was fourteen. I also milked the cows. My mother was always a merchant. Since I was such a hard worker they began to ask for my hand but my mother and brothers did not want me to marry. I, poor thing, loved my mother and didn't understand how mean she was. She didn't love me because she made me work so hard when she had enough money to hire a maid. I took care of my mother, but when I was twenty I was fed up with it and eloped with my *novio*.

593 584 The mother is usually the daughter's chaperone when attending fiestas or when visiting. It is the mother's obligation to guard all grown daughters from having contact with boys. If she fails in this the mother will be subject to the father's anger. Many mothers complain that the necessity to "spy" on their daughters is a heavy burden. A mother who must leave her fifteen-year-old daughter at home with the little ones while she goes to the plaza is anxious over the possibility that the girl will speak to a boy in her absence. If the mother learns that her daughter has a *novio*, it is common for her to beat the girl without the father's knowledge and to keep the matter a secret. Although most mothers are harsh in their treatment of [848] a daughter who becomes pregnant before marriage, they are less so than the fathers and tend to be more forgiving.

593 864 Respect relations between mother and daughter require an avoidance of intimate subjects. Mothers do not customarily prepare their daughters for menstruation or discuss the body or any aspect of sexual relations. And girls do not inform their

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appeal to their parents for justice, but younger ones always go to parents with complaints and tales about the others. Even when all the children are grown, this pattern of the younger telling tales continues. Children tell the parents when an older brother smokes, plays billiards, stays out of school to play, and so on. Parents frequently use younger children to spy on older ones and especially as chaperones for grown daughters.

The general pattern of male dominance is learned by boys from their fathers and is first put into practice in the boys' relationships with their sisters. As soon as a sister is old enough to do housework and chores, the brother begins to put demands upon her, just as the father does upon his wife. A sister is expected to serve her brothers by washing, ironing, and mending their clothes, by preparing and serving their food, and in other little ways. A brother may ask his sister to run errands or to take notes to a *novia*. But a sister will never have her brother act as an intermediary in her private affairs. On the contrary, sisters try to conceal their own relations with boys for fear of offending and angering their brothers. Brothers assume the role of protectors of their sisters' reputation and morality, and a brother may beat his sister if he finds her with a boy. But sisters do manage to get information about boys from their brothers.

Data on the sexual relations between brothers and sisters are very difficult to obtain since this is one of the strong taboo relations. But there is some evidence that sexual relations sometimes occur. Parents do not like to leave an adolescent daughter alone at home with grown brothers. In one case, a widow with two grown daughters and one grown son locked the girls in the house and required the son to sleep outside when she had to leave the house at night.

Siblings of the same sex tend to associate more than siblings of the opposite sex. Brothers work in the fields together, share confidences, and may have the same friends, particularly when there is no great age difference between them. This pattern is even stronger in the case of sisters. Grown brothers and sisters do not participate together in public affairs, do not have mutual friends, and are reserved toward one another in public.

This picture of sibling relations would not be complete without mention of the fact that in many families there are quarrels and resentments. Most of these result from favoritism on the part of the parents. Boys are generally favored over girls, the first-born son and the last born or *xoco* are favored over the other children. Favoritism may be expressed in the unequal distribution of food and clothing, the celebration of the birthdays of one child and not another, the greater attention given to the favored one when ill or injured, and a greater leniency in punishing. The resentment of the children to this treatment finds expression in surreptitious quarreling, fighting, irritability, unwillingness to share possessions, and an avoidance of one another.

After marriage there are a number of factors which further weaken the ties between siblings. Each sibling sets up an independent household and there are practically no institutionalized forms of cooperation between married brothers or sisters.

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842 Abor-
[847] tion, although very secretive, is not uncommon, and it is said that many women take medicine to make themselves sterile.

In sharp contrast to women, men in Tepoztlán prefer large families and are outspoken in their desire to have many sons to help them. In many husband-wife [593] relations there is an underlying struggle in which the wife tries to limit the number of pregnancies against the protests of her husband. If conception does not take place within a reasonable length of time, husbands may suspect their wives of taking medicine to prevent it. Failure to conceive may be sufficient cause for abandonment, [586] and in the few cases in which women were known to have prayed for a child the motive almost always was to please the husband. Men show little interest in learning methods of birth control, and it is highly improbable that many husbands would practice it or permit their wives to.

The differences in the attitudes of men and women toward having children stem from several factors. Men often marry at a more mature age and when they feel [582] ready for marriage, but girls marry quite young, and often as a result of pressure [581] from their suitors or their parents or because of pregnancy. Men frequently marry for the purpose of raising a family; women, except when they are pregnant, usually marry for motives entirely unrelated to having children. Unlike women, who be- [851] come more dependent upon their mother-in-law and husband at the birth of a [562] child, men acquire a new independence and a more respected status as *padre de* [843] *familia*. Becoming a mother does not in itself improve a woman's status, nor is there any perceptible change in the treatment of wives during pregnancy. As one informant put it, "A good husband will continue to be good when his wife is pregnant, and a bad one will continue to beat her."

The strict division of labor in Tepoztecan homes, in which the burden of the [462] care of the children in sickness and in health falls upon the mother, is often given [594] as an explanation of the different attitudes of men and women toward having children. "It makes no difference to the men how many children there are. It is the wife who has to see that there is enough for all."

842 Motherhood is not glorified in Tepoztlán. The prevailing prudishness toward
155 sex, as well as the reciprocal respect-relations between parents and children, results
864 in the avoidance of the subject. Most Tepoztecan girls grow up in an atmosphere in which negative attitudes of fear and shame toward motherhood, pregnancy, and even marriage have more opportunity of developing than positive ones. Despite the early assumption of the care of small children and household duties, there is an absence of positive psychological preparation in the training of young girls for the acceptance of motherhood. This is reenforced by the martyr-like attitude of their own mothers toward husbands and children.

842 *PREGNANCY*

[195] The most common expression to describe pregnancy is "to become ill with child." [843] Sterility (*yomitztili*) is thought to be due to "cold" in the womb,[2] and massages [171]

[2] Sterility is also explained by "cold" in Chan Kom. *Ibid.* p. 181.

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Fig. 57. Going to school frees many girls from heavy chores.

confinement, and generally do not resist staying home from school to work. From the third grade on, many of them often play truant (*pintar venado*) to go swimming, to play games, or to go to a nearby town. Most boys look forward to the time when they will withdraw from school permanently to become farmers.

857
872 Most Tepoztecan mothers are accustomed to putting children to work as soon as they are physically able, and to keep them at home, available to do tasks as they arise. The amount of work to be done at home by boys and girls of school age varies from family to family, and frequently depends upon the degree of control the mother has over her children. Parents traditionally punish young recalcitrants severely, so that by the time they are ready to assume regular tasks there is no question of obedience. Play has always been, and still is, viewed by most parents as a possible source of danger and a waste of time. Attendance at school has caused parents to modify their view of children as a source of labor and has disrupted the traditional division of labor within the home. It has thrown a heavier burden of work on the mother, who depended upon her children for assistance, and on the father, who now must do some of the minor chores traditionally done by boys.

[594]

School has not only helped to reduce the amount of daily work done by children, but has postponed for many the age at which they work to contribute to their own support. Going to school has taken children out of the limited sphere of parental influence and has awakened new desires. One immediate and obvious effect of school has been the great increase in the desire of children to meet friends and to play after school. They are no longer always content to return home and remain

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be cause for a sharp scolding or slap. Ideally, the girl is not supposed to leave the house unaccompanied, though expediency frequently demands that she does.

The responsibility of guarding the chastity and reputation of one or more daughters of marriageable age is often felt to be a burden by the mother. One mother said that she wished her fifteen-year-old daughter would marry soon because it was inconvenient to "spy" on her all the time.

For most girls, the appearance of the first menses is a traumatic experience. Many fear it signifies that they are no longer virgins, others that they have an internal lesion and will bleed to death. Most girls associate it with something shameful, dirty, and even punishable, and keep it secret from parents and sisters. A very much frightened girl sometimes seeks reassurance by confiding in her grandmother or in a friend. Girls who are still in school at an age when there is interest in such matters generally learn some of the facts of menstruation from other girls. There is a tendency for more educated girls to feel less guilt and be less secretive about menstruation both in school and at home, but almost all girls express shame and disgust in connection with it.

When girls married before puberty, it was widely believed that menstruation was caused by sexual intercourse. When marriages began to take place after puberty, this belief broke down and is no longer held by most people, but it still persists among some. For example, an uncle, who accidentally became aware that his fifteen year-old niece was menstruating, denounced the girl as not being a virgin and scolded her mother for not guarding her.

The grandmother, or the mother when she learns of it, gives the girl advice on proper care during menstruation. Most warn against bathing or washing the feet or eating "cold" foods, such as pork, avocado, beans, and lemon, since these are believed to stop the flow. Menstruation is expected to last three days, and the flow is generally sparse, requiring only the wearing of an extra pair of underdrawers. If the flow is longer than three or four days, there is some concern over it, and herb medicines are usually taken.

The adjustment of the adolescent girl to her situation at home varies considerably. In large part it depends upon the girl's relations with the mother, since it is with her that there is most contact. The close relationship of the adolescent girl with her mother is recent in Tepoztlán, for child marriage and patrilocal residence in past years effectively severed the mother-daughter tie. The young daughter-in-law was looked upon as the main source of assistance for the mother. Now it is the grown daughter who partially fills this role. Her work is obligatory, "Why then do we rear children except to help us?" The mother of a grown girl is considered fortunate because "now she has someone to work for her."

Many of the attitudes of the mother-in-law toward the daughter-in-law have been carried over to the daughter. There is a tendency for mothers to "retire" from most of the heavy household duties and to shift the major burden of the household upon the daughters, assuming the role of director rather than partner. Many mothers are critical, demanding, and querulous with their daughters and scold

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

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them at little provocation. Mothers also tend to spend a good part of the time in gossiping with neighbors or visitors, going to the plaza, and visiting relatives. Some take jobs or start up small businesses and are away from home much of the day.

The pleasanter or more rewarding aspects of an adolescent girl's life are the new clothes and little luxuries her parents see fit to buy for her, trips to the plaza or mill, and attendance at church and fiestas. The majority of girls are permitted only a minimum of these. Rewards in terms of higher status, increased respect or authority, or expressions of appreciation or praise are generally absent. Courtship provides a great deal of excitement but also is a source of worry and fear.

THE ADOLESCENT BOY

883 [594] [735]

It is at the beginning of adolescence that boys begin to work seriously at farming, which is the most important and most respected work in the village. The improved status of boys, their larger share of food, clothing, and spending money, and their increasing authority over younger brothers and sisters, all stem from this. Boys of thirteen and fourteen, who may still be in school, begin to chafe under the confinement, authority, and "childishness" of school, and long to do farming and partake in its rewards. This coincides with the wishes of most parents, for boys of this age generally spend their days working under the supervision of their fathers. Boys who are orphans or whose family owns no land may work with an uncle or brother-in-law during the learning period and later work as hired hands for others. Boys in very poor families sometimes work at simpler tasks for wages several years before adolescence, but this is no longer common.

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The work relations of father and son are generally smoother than that of mother and daughter. The more authoritarian, reserved figure of the father usually inspires the son to complete obedience. Fathers also tend to be more patient and less hurried in teaching their sons, and the work is done side by side, with the father usually taking the heavier burden.

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Interest and participation in sports and other "modern" diversions are becoming characteristic of adolescent boys and older youths in Tepoztlán. Although recreational activities are still quite limited in Tepoztlán, especially when compared with the United States, there is much resistance to them on the part of the older generation. Not only is play generally viewed as a small child's activity exclusively but, even for children, it is often thought of as being a waste of time and having a strong element of danger. In the case of sports for boys of thirteen to twenty or more years of age, it is considered harmful and unnecessary. Parents believe that sports consume the precious energy needed in the milpas; they say that the ax, machete, and team of oxen provide all the exercise a farmer can endure. Mothers complain that their sons get overheated and are particularly liable to *los aires*. Older men tend to dislike the new sports because they are successfully pushing out the older diversions, such as *jaripeos* and cockfights.[1]

[1] For a discussion of new sports and forms of diversion for young people, see Chapter 9, "Wealth Differences and Levels of Living," p. 208.